

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03402 01 OF 02 101136Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3402

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III

REF: KA) GENEVA 3142; (B) GENEVA 2529; (C) GENEVA 1883

1. SUMMARY: DISCUSSION OF ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III HAS MOVED AHEAD UNEVENLY DURING LAST TWO WEEKS, BUT IS NOW TAKING FORM AROUND ROMANIAN OUTLINE OF A REPORT WHICH STAGE III WORKING GROUP (WG) WILL LATER SUBMIT TO COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR APPROVAL. MAIN ISSUES ARE AS DISCUSSED IN REFTELS, BUT DISCUSSION HAS PRODUCED SOME INTERESTING POINTS WHICH DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER IN DEVELOPING POSITIONS ON STAGE III SUBJECTS. IN THIS CABLE, ORGANIZED ALONG LINES OF CURRENT ROMANIAN OUTLINE, WE SUMMARIZE VIEWS EXPRESSED THUS FAR AND IDENTIFY THE TENDENCIES WHICH ARE EMERGING ON INDIVIDUAL STAGE III ISSUES. NEXT MEETING OF WG IS SET FOR MAY 27. IF WE ARE TO INFLUENCE THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONFERENCE THINKING ON ANY OF THESE POINTS, WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT WE BE PROVIDED WITH INSTRUCTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. END SUMMARY

2. --RECOMMENDATION OF THE COORDINATING
COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III--
--(OUTLINE OF DOCUMENT)--

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03402 01 OF 02 101136Z

I.--INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE--(FRG DRAFT) QUOTE: THE ORGANIZATION OF THE THIRD STAGE OF CSCE WILL BE CARRIED OUT ACCORDING TO THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS. THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE HEREWITH RECALLS THE RELEVANT ITEMS OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUBMITS THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS PERTAINING TO THE THIRD STAGE. UNQUOTE.

II.--DATE, DURATION AND PLACE OF THE THIRD STAGE--(NO DRAFT TEXT YET SUBMITTED).

A.--DATE--NO SPECIFIC DATE HAS YET BEEN MENTIONED BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT ALL DELEGATIONS ARE NOW PLANNING FOR A STAGE III IN JULY.

B.--DURATION--FRG HAS SUGGESTED A FIVE DAY SCENARIO UNDER WHICH CONFERENCE WOULD BEGIN ON A MONDAY AFTERNOON AT 5 P.M. (IN ORDER TO ALLOW PARTICIPANTS TO TRAVEL TO HELSINKI ON THE SAME DAY), WITH OPENING CEREMONY AND SPEECHES BY REPRESENTATIVE OF HOST COUNTRY (PRESIDENT KEKKONEN) AND UNSYG WALDHEIM. CONFERENCE WOULD THEN HEAR SPEECHES BY REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER 34 PARTICIPATING STATES DURING TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY. FRIDAY MORNING WOULD BE FOR SIGNING CEREMONY AND PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE FREE TO DEPART ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON. IN ADDITION TO ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE, QUESTION OF DURATION IS OBVIOUSLY A KEY ELEMENT OF STAGE III PLANNING, ON WHICH MANY OTHER ITEMS DEPEND (E.G. WORKING HOURS, LENGTH OF SPEECHES, AND CHAIRMANSHIP). FINNS ARE ALSO PRESSING FOR DECISION ON THIS POINT FOR PLANNING PURPOSES. IN CORRIDORS WE HAVE URGED SHORTEST POSSIBLE DURATION CONSISTENT WITH THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OCCASION, WHICH WE TAKE TO MEAN ABOUT 3 DAYS. (SEE PARA 2(D) OF REFTEL C). IN NATO CAUCUS TWO ALLIES HAVE EXPRESSED SIMILAR PREFERENCE (CANADA, UK), BUT FRG, FRENCH AND BELGIANS HAVE SAID THEY COULD BE MORE FLEXIBLE AND COULD ACCEPT 4 DAYS. SOVIETS HAVE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THEY PREFER 4 1/2 DAYS, SOMEWHAT ALONG LINES OF FINNISH SCENARIO, BUT COULD LIVE WITH 3 1/2 DAYS. (THREE DAYS OF SPEECHES PLUS 1/2 DAY FOR SIGNING CEREMONY). WE THINK TENDENCY WILL BE TOWARD A 3 1/2-4 DAY MEETING.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 03402 01 OF 02 101136Z

C. --PLACE--HELSINKI.

III.--PARTICIPANTS--

A.--PARTICIPATING STATES.

B.--GUESTS--THERE HAS BEEN NO OBJECTION TO INVITING UNSYG WALDEHIM, AS A GUEST, TO MAKE A SPEECH. MALTESE AND SWISS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WILL PROPOSE THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN

STATES (NPMS) BE INVITED TO ATTEND STAGE III IN SOME OBSERVER CAPACITY. MOST DELS EXPECT A LONG AND BITTER FIGHT OVER THIS IDEA. THE SPANISH HAVE OFFERED THE COMPROMISE SUGGESTION OF INVITING ALGERIAN FOMMIN BOUTEFLIKA IN HIS CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNGA. QUOTE A FEW DELS HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THIS IDEA. THE SOVIETS HAVE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THEY OPPOSE IT. THEY SAY WITH A SMILE THAT THE UNGA PRESIDENT HAS NO FUNCTION OUTSIDE THE UNGA. WE THINK THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL EVENTUALLY TURN TO THE BOUTEFLIKA SOLUTION, UNLESS THE SOVIETS CAN BEAT DOWN THE MALTESE.

IV.--LEVELS OF REPRESENTATION--ASSUMPTION IS THAT STAGE III WILL BE AT THE LEVEL OF HEADS OF STATE GOVERNMENT.

V.--REFERENCE TO THE RULES OF PROCEDURE--(HOLY SEE DRAFT) QUOTE: THE WORK OF THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CSCE SHALL BE CONDUCTED IN CONFIRMITY WITH THE RULES OF PROCEDURE SET OUT IN CHAPTER 6 OF THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS, AS FURTHER DEFINED IN THE PRESENT DOCUMENT. UNQUOTE.

VI.--CHAIRMANSHIP--(SPANISH/ROMANIAN DRAFT) QUOTE: THE CHAIR AT THE INAUGURAL AND CLOSING MEETINGS OF THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE SHALL BE TAKEN BY . . . OF THE HOST COUNTRY. THE CHAIR AT OTHER MEETINGS SHALL BE TAKEN ON A BASIS OF ROTATION, AS FOLLOWS:
A. THE CHAIR AT EACH MEETING SHALL BE TAKEN BY . . . OF A DIFFERENT PARTICIPATING STATE, IN AN ORDER ESTABLISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH A LIST SELECTED BY LOT COUNTRY BY COUNTRY BEFORE THE END OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, CONTAINED IN THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE DECISION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 03402 01 OF 02 101136Z

ANNEXED HERETO;

B. IF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD MEET BOTH IN THE MORNING AND IN THE AFTERNOON OF THE SAME DAY, THE TWO MEETINGS SHALL BE REGARDED AS CONSTITUTING TWO DISTINCT MEETINGS;

C. IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN MEETINGS OF THE CONFERENCE, THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CHAIR SHALL BE EXERCISED BY . . . WHO PRESIDED OVER THE IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE.

D. SHOULD. . . BE PREVENTED FROM TAKING THE CHAIR, IT SHALL BE TAKEN BY . . . OF THE COUNTRY NEXT IN THE ORDER ESTABLISHED. UNQUOTE.

--IF THIS PROCEDURE IS ADOPTED, AS WE EXPECT, THIS WOULD MEAN THAT LOTS WOULD BE DRAWN BEFORE THE END OF STAGE II FOR A LIST OF CHAIRMEN. IN PRACTICE ONLY THE TOP SEVEN OR EIGHT COUNTRIES ON THIS LIST WILL ACTUALLY PRESIDE A

STAGE III SESSION. IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE OF EACH COUNTRY WILL SERVE AS CHAIRMAN IF HIS TURN COMES UP. CHAIRMANSHIP WOULD NORMALLY BE LIMITED TO RECOGNIZING SPEAKERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PREVIOUSLY ESTABLISHED SPEAKERS' LIST, BUT COULD INVOLVE OTHER MATTERS IN CASE OF UNFORESEEN EVENTS (E.G. A MALTESE TANTRUM, AS AT STAGE I).

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03402 02 OF 02 101156Z

46

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 3402

VII.--SPEECHES--

A.--DURATION OF SPEECHES--(SPANISH DRAFT) QUOTE: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE DURATION OF SPEECHES DURING THE THIRD STAGE SHOULD NOT EXCEED 30 MINUTES. UNQUOTE.
--MOST DELEGATIONS HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT THIS POINT IS LINKED TO QUESTION OF OVERALL DURATION OF STAGE III: IF STAGE III IS ONLY 3 DAYS LONG, SPEECHES WOULD PRESUMABLY HAVE TO BE SHORTER THAN 30 MINUTES. SOVIETS AND OTHERS HAVE OFFERED 20 MINUTE MAXIMUM AS A POSSIBILITY, AND IF OVERALL STAGE III DURATION IS CUT BACK TO 3 1/2 DAYS WE WOULD EXPECT A 20 MINUTE TIME LIMIT TO BE ACCEPTED, AT LEAST AS A GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT.

B.--PROCEDURE FOR DRAWING UP THE LIST OF SPEAKERS--
HERE THERE ARE FOUR ALTERNATIVE SUGGESTIONS:
(1) FIRST-COME-FIRST-SERVED--(GDR SUGGESTION) FOLLOW METHOD USED FOR STAGE I: SET DATE FOR OPENING OF SPEAKERS

LIST AT FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTRY, AFTER WHICH FIRST COUNTRY PRESENTING ITSELF GETS FIRST CHOICE, AND SO ON.

(2) DRAW LOTS COUNTRY BY COUNTRY--(ROMANIAN SUGGESTION).

DRAW LOTS, COUNTRY BY COUNTRY, BEFORE END OF STAGE II.

(3) DRAW LOTS FOR FIRST SPEAKER--(ROMANIAN SUGGESTION).

DRAW LOTS BEFORE END OF STAGE II FOR FIRST SPEAKER, THEN FOLLOWS ESTABLISHED CSCE ALPHABETICAL ORDER FROM CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 03402 02 OF 02 101156Z

THAT COUNTRY ONWARD (NOTE: FOR PARTICULAR POLITICAL REASONS US IS KNOWN IN CSCE AS "AMERIQUE, ETAS-UNIS DE" AND THUS COMES AFTER GDR AND BEFORE AUSTRIA. USSR IS KNOWN AS USSR AND COMES BETWEEN TURKEY AND YUGOSLAVIA. FRENCH ALPHABETICAL ORDER IS OTHERWISE GENERALLY FOLLOWED).

(4) CHOICE OF DAY PLUS DRAWING LOTS--(SWISS SUGGESTION). EACH COUNTRY EXPRESSES PREFERENCE FOR A DAY (OR SESSION) DURING WHICH IT WANTS TO SPEAK. DRAW LOTS AMONG ALL COUNTRIES EXPRESSING SAME PREFERENCE FOR THE SPEAKING ORDER FOR THAT DAY OR SESSION.

(5) NEGOTIATE--(FRG SUGGESTION). TRY TO WORK OUT AGREED LIST OF SPEAKERS THROUGH NEGOTIATION IN GENEVA. (FRG SUGGESTED THAT LIST MIGHT BEGIN WITH USSR, FOLLOWED BY REPRESENTATIVE OF EC-NINE, THEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEUTRALS, WITH US SPEAKING LAST (SIC). WE CLARIFIED THAT WE HAD NOT REPEAT NOT EXPRESSED ANY PREFERENCE FOR A SPECIFIC PLACE ON THE SPEAKERS LIST AND HOPED THERE WOULD BE NO SPECULATION ON WHAT OUR PREFERENCE MAY BE.)

VIII.--NATURE OF MEETINGS (OPEN OR CLOSED)--(ROMANIAN DRAFT). ALL SESSION OF THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE PUBLIC. THE....OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES CAN NEVERTHESS DECIDE THAT CERTAIN SESSIONS WILL BE PRIVATE. UNQUOTE. (NOTE: "PUBLIC" IS GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD HERE TO MEAN "OPEN TO THE PRESS", SINCE NO ONE ENVISAGES ADMITTING THE GENERAL PUBLIC.)

--ROMANIAN DRAFT CAUSES US SOME PROBLEMS. UNDER RULE 80 OF HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS, OPENING AND CLOSING SESSION OF STAGE III SHOULD BE OPEN, AND THE CONFERENCE CAN DECIDE THAT OTHER SESSIONS WILL ALSO BE OPEN. DURING STAGE I IT WAS DECIDED IMMEDIATELY THAT ALL SESSIONS DURING WHICH SPEECHES WERE MADE WERE TO BE OPEN. HOWEVER, IT PROVED VERY USEFUL TO HAVE POSSIBILITY OF AUTOMATIC CLOSED MEETINGS (NO CONSENSUS REQUIRED) WHEN MINTOFF RAISED LAST-MINUTE PROBLEMS. ROMANIAN SUGGESTION WOULD IN EFFECT TURN THIS ARRANGMENT AROUND AND MAKE IT NECESSARY TO OBTAIN CONSENSUS IN ORDER TO HAVE A CLOSED MEETING. WE BELIEVE SUCH A PROCEDURE WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR MINTOFF (OR SOMEONE ELSE) TO BLOCK CONSENSUS AND FORCE A DIFFICULT DEBATE IN FRONT OF THE TV CAMERAS. WE WOULD PREFER SOMETHING LIKE HELSINKI RULE 80 PROVIDING

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 03402 02 OF 02 101156Z

FOR AUTOMATIC CLOSED MEETINGS FOR EVENTS OUTSIDE OF SCENARIO.SOVIETS, WHO HAVE SAME CONCERN, HAVE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT FINNS WILL SUGGEST AN ARRANGEMENT UNDER WHICH ALL REGULAR MEETINGS WILL BE OPEN,BUT WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR AUTOMATIC CLOSED MEETINGS FOR UNFORESEEN DISCUSSIONS. WE BELIEVE THIS WOULD BE SATISFACTORY IF CON-FERENCE TENDENCY MOVES TOWARDS SUCH A SOLUTION.

IX.--TIMETABLE OF MEETINGS--(ROMANIAN DRAFT). QUOTE: THE MEETINGS OF THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, EXCEPT FOR THE INAUGURAL AND CLOSED MEETINGS, WILL BE HELD FROM 10 A.M. TO 1 P.M.AND FROM 3:30 P.M. TO 6:30 P.M. UNQUOTE.

--THIS PROBLEM OBVIOUSLY RELATES TO QUESTION OF OVERALL DURATION OF STAGE III: IF STAGE III IS ONLY 3 DAYS LONG, DAILY TIMETABLE WOULD HAVE TO PROVIDE FOR LONGER MEETING HOURS. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS A WIDESPREAD DESIRE TO ALLOW TIME FOR BILATERAL MEETINGS. WE ASSUME SOMETHING LIKE THE ABOVE TIMETABLE WILL BE ACCEPTED.

X.--SIGNING CERMONY--(ROMANIAN DRAFT. QUOTE: THE DOCUMENT(S) OF THE CSCE WILL BE SIGNED BY....OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES AT THE CLOSING SESSION OF THE THIRD STAGE. THE SIGNATURE WILL TAKE PLACE ACCORDING TO THE FRENCH ALPHABETICAL ORDER OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES/ ACCORDING TO THE FRENCH ALPHABETICAL ORDER STARTING WITH A PARTICIPATING STATE DRAWN BY LOT, THAT IS WITH.... UNQUOTE.

--IN ADDITION TO DECIDING ON THE ABOVE ALTERNATIVES, A DECISION WILL HAVE TO BE MADE AS TO WHETHER SIGNING WILL TAKE PLACE IN MAIN HALL OF FINLANDIA HOUSE, IN WHICH CASE SIGNORS WOULD HAVE TO WALK UP TO CENTER STAGE IN SEQUENCE TO SIGN, OR IN ANOTHER ROOM AT A ROUND OR HORSHOE-SHAPED TABLE. THERE APPEARS TO BE A TENDENCY TOWARD THE IDEA OF SIGNING WHILE SITTING AT A TABLE, WITH DOCUMENT CARRIED FROM ONE SIGNOR TO ANOTHER. (SEE PARA 2 OF REFTEL B.)

XI.--EXECUTIVE SECRETARY--(ROMANIAN DRAFT) QUOTE: THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR TECHNICAL MATTERS AT THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, DESIGNATED BY THE REPUBLIC
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 03402 02 OF 02 101156Z

OF FINLAND, WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE PARTICIPATING

STATES, IS....UNQUOTE.

--SINCE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY IN CSCE HAS A PURELY TECHNICAL ORGANIZATIONAL ROLE, THIS IS NOT AN ISSUE. IT IS ASSUMED THAT FANNISH AMBASSADOR TO CAIRO PEKURI, WHO WAS DEPUTY EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR MOST OF STAGE II, WILL BE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF STAGE III.

XII.--PRESS COMMUNIQUE--(ROMANIAN DRAFT). QUOTE: AT THE END OF THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, THE.... OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES WILL MAKE PUBLIC THE PRESS COMMUNIQUE ENCLOSED HERewith. UNQUOTE.
--MOST DELEGATIONS AGREE THAT A SHORT FACTUAL COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE DRAFTED IN GENEVA BEFORE THE END OF STAGE II FOR ISSUANCE AT THE END OF STAGE III.

XIII.--FINANCIAL ASPECTS--HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS ESTABLISH PERCENTAGE OF OVERALL CONFERENCE EXPENDITURES TO BE REIMBURSED BY EACH PARTICIPATING STATE. (US SHARE IS 8.8 PERCENT. REIMBURSEMENT WILL BE TO HOST COUNTRY AFTER STAGE III.

XIV.--PROTOCOL ARRANGEMENTS--ONLY EVENTS MENTIONED THUS FAR ARE DINNER PLANNED BY PRESIDENT KIKKONEN EVIDENTLY FOR FIRST EVENING OF THE CONFERENCE, AND A LARGER RECEPTION BY THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS.

3. NEXT WG MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR MAY 27, AND WE EXPECT A STRONG DESIRE TO COMPLETE THE PAPER OUTLINED ABOVE AT THAT TIME, LEAVING BLANKS COVERING THOSE POLITICAL QUESTIONS WHICH CANNOT BE RESOLVED NOW. IF WE ARE TO INFLUENCE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THINKING ON ANY WAY OF THESE ISSUES WE WILL HAVE TO BEGIN INFORMAL WORK WELL BEFORE THAT DATE, AND WE WOULD THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT WE BE PROVIDED WITH INSTRUCTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ABRAMS

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